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The A. F. of L. Weekly News Service gives news accounts and editorial interpretation of matters affecting labor occurring in the industrial, legislative, and judicial fields, and contains other information of benefit to the trade union movement.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR
WEEKLY NEWS SERVICE

The movement they call organized labor is the universal, vital problem of the world.—Thomas Carlyle.

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WHOLE NO. 1295 | WILLIAM GREEN, President | WASHINGTON, D. C., SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1936 | FRANK MORRISON, Secretary-Treasurer | VOL. 26, NO. 6

President Green Sounds Warning Against Continued Existence of Committee for Industrial Organization

Policies of the American Federation of Labor Are Formed in Conventions and Must Be Observed by Affiliated Organizations, A. F. Of L. President Tells United Mine Workers—Says Question of Self-Government Is Important Issue.

Emphasizes Fact That Atlantic City Convention Adopted An Organization Policy For The American Federation of Labor By a Large Majority—Declares the A. F. of L. "Will Not Tolerate Within It An Organization Challenging the Supremacy of the Parent Body."

By A. F. of L. News Service.

Washington, D. C.—William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, made a vigorous criticism of the activities of the Committee for Industrial Organization in an address here before the thirty-third constitutional convention of the United Mine Workers of America.

The Committee for Industrial Organization, whose chairman is President John L. Lewis of the Mine Workers, was formed last November by the executives of eight unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shortly after the 1935 convention of the Federation had decided, by a vote of 18,024 to 10,933, in favor of a broad liberal policy of organization in all lines of industry.

Mr. Green traced the history of the industrial unionism theory in the United States from its adoption by the Knights of Labor in 1878 through the Debs movement for railroad industrial unionism and in the various conventions of the American Federation of Labor since 1903.

He declared the American Federation of Labor conventions are the supreme law-making tribunal of the Federation, and insisted that every affiliated organization has an obligation scrupulously to observe the laws enactde by the conventions.

He held that the Committee for Industrial Organization is a group established within the A. F. of L. to oppose the organization policy fixed by the 1935 convention, and in the interest of trade union solidarity urged that committee be dissolved in accordance with the recommendation of the A. F. of L. Executive Council.

The text of Mr. Green's address follows:

President Lewis, officers and members of the United Mine Workers of America, my fellow citizens and my friends:

I speak to you this afternoon fully conscious of my responsibilities and the significance of this occasion. I fully realize that you are assembled here in an historic convention of the International Union, United Mine Workers of America; that in this convention important decisions will be made, decisions which will seriously affect the future administrative policy of this great organization and that decisions will be made which will, I hope, contribute towards the economic, social and industrial advancement of the mine workers throughout the entire nation. I come to you both as a member of the United Mine Workers of America and as president of the American Federation of Labor.

Now I publicly declare that in all the vicissitudes of life, in all the difficulties I have met through all the troublesome periods which I have passed, I have been proud, increasingly proud, of my thirty years membership in the United Mine Workers of America.

First of all may I refer briefly, with your permission, to the record which has been made.

I became associated with the United Mine Workers of America when I was a boy. I started to work with my father, who was a miner. I mined coal in the mines of Ohio for more than twenty long years, and during that period I served in various capacities as a local officer of the local organization with which I was associated. Then I was called to serve as a sub-district officer of a sub-district of the United Mine Workers of the great State of Ohio; later as president of the Ohio Mine Workers and then as the secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America.

Legislative Achievements for Miners

There is a period during this part of my life's experience to which I must now refer, and that is my four years as a member of the General Assembly of Ohio. I served as a State Senator, representing the Senatorial District in which I resided, for two successive terms. During the time I served in that honorable capacity, I introduced into the Legislature of Ohio the workmen's compensation law which is now written on the statute books of that Commonwealth, and I am proud of the fact that year in and year out, in season and out of season, miners whom I know and with whom I have worked and served have been, as a result of injury, the beneficiaries of that piece of social justice legislation. That act became the standard act of the American Federation of Labor; it was endorsed by the American Federation of Labor, and the legislatures of the different States have been called upon to enact a law similar to the Ohio Workmen's Compensation Act.

I recall one young man in my home town who one day while working in the mines sustained an injury that resulted in complete paralysis of his body. His family was dependent upon him, but under the operation of the workmen's compensation law, every two weeks there is carried into his home a check from the State Treasury of Ohio, and during all these years he has been able to maintain his family and keep his family together. Every time I go home he meets me with tears in his eyes and thanks me a thousand times for the enactment of the Ohio workmen's compensation law.

Then I introduced in the Ohio General Assembly a mine run law that abolished the screens of the coal mines and coal tipples in Ohio. As a result of the passage of that act the mine run system was established in the mines of Ohio, and following the establishment of the mine run system in the mines of Ohio it was established in Western Pennsylvania, as well.

I refer to these facts in order that some of you who may have come into this movement since I became president of the American Federation of Labor might know something about the service which I endeavored to render and which I did render mine workers of Ohio and of the entire country and to the working men and women of our nation.

Chartered Mine Workers in 1890

But I must talk to you about the administrative and organization affairs of the American Federation of Labor. I should like to speak to you about the economic, industrial and social problems in which all of us are interested and which concern us so deeply. Time will not permit me to do that this afternoon because I want to talk to you fearlessly and courageously about a matter that has been considered by this convention since it met in the city of Washington a few days ago.

The American Federation of Labor was organized in 1881. The United Mine Workers of America was chartered by the American Federation of Labor in 1890. This great organization has been associated with the American Federation of Labor continuously and without interruption during all these years since 1890. There are 107 national and international organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. These were chartered in regular order as international unions were formed from time to time by the American Federation of Labor.

Adjusting Union Differences

It is inconceivable that it would be possible to blend into a great economic movement men and women who saw eye to eye and who thought in equal terms. It is a family, and many of them differ in their economic and social points of view, but it has been the purpose and desire and objective, if you please, of the American Federation of Labor to compose differences, to unite these conflicting forces, to blend into a strong, aggressive, cooperative organization the men and women in all lines, in all trades and in all callings.

I do not mind telling you today that during the past ten years it has been most difficult indeed to compose the differences which have arisen. These differences arise every day, every month, every year, and one of the chief requirements of the executive officer of the American Federation of Labor is to find a basis of accommodation, harmonize conflicting opinions, to settle differences which arise, not among enemies, if you please, but among the family and the representatives of the men and women who make up the family of organized labor.

Organization Policies

One of the subjects that has agitated the mind of the membership of the American Federation of Labor has been the organization policies of the American Federation of Labor. There are those who believe in different types and in different forms of organization. Some believe in the trade form of organization and others believe in the more comprehensive, broad industrial form of organization.

The United Mine Workers' organization is known both within the American Federation of Labor and out of it, up and down and throughout the length and breadth of the land as an industrial organization.

But there are other organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor who wish other forms of organization. They found that this other form, the trade form, suits their needs best, and we have no quarrel about that. They were chartered by the American Federation of Labor and they were given jurisdiction by the American Federation of Labor over certain groups of workers, a solemn covenant entered into between the representatives of these international unions and the parent body, a fraternal relationship between the parent and the child, and that is the basis upon which the superstructure of the great American Federation of Labor rests.

K. of L. Experiment

But this question of industrial organization which has so occupied your attention and mine and the attention of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor is no new issue. Like Banquo's ghost, it has ever been with us. In 1860 or 1861, even prior to the formation of the American Federation of Labor, the Knights of Labor began, and in 1878 the first general assembly of the Knights of Labor was formed, with a constitution formulated and adopted and officers elected. All of you who have studied the history and the development of organized labor in the United States of America know that the Knights of Labor advocated first the establishment of an industrial form of organization. That passed out of the picture.

The American Federation of Labor remained—formed in 1881 as a rival of the Knights of Labor, which was formed in 1878.

Craft Union Principles

I stated just a moment ago that there were organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor which prefer the trade or craft organization form. May I, in a brief sentence, offer to you the arguments submitted by the defenders of the trade or craft form of organization. They hold that the skilled worker has a perfect right to commercialize to his full advantage when negotiating wage contracts, the key position which he inevitably holds in industry and industrial production, that he has a right to use his skill in order to force from unwilling, reluctant employers the highest wage and the most satisfactory conditions possible. He maintains that he can do this if he can associate himself with his fellow skilled workers and his key men serving in key positions in industry, he maintains that he can negotiate more advantageously for those he has the honor to represent.

Unions Oppose Industrial Form

I stated further that those representatives of organizations who believe firmly in the craft or trade form of organization refuse to yield to the importunities of those who believe in another form of organization.

I have repeatedly stated that there are organizations in the American Federation of Labor which seem to be well suited for the establishment of the industrial form of organization and yet the officers and members of these organizations positively refuse to accept that form of organization.

I might well ask why the printing industry, which seems to be well suited for the establishment of an industrial form of organization, will not accept it. Then there is the great railroad industry, where it would seem from all the facts on the surface that the organizations in the railroad industry and the industry itself should merge and these organizations establish in the railroad industry the industrial form of organization. But they won't have it. They refuse it. They have steadfastly refused it, and it has never been conceived that it was the duty of the American Federation of Labor to force and impose upon either the printing industry or the railroad industry an industrial form of organization against the will of the workers.

Debs Plan Failed

Perhaps you recall that Mr. Debs and his associates strongly advocated the establishment of the industrial form of organization in the railroad industry, and as a result of it a wide difference of opinion arose between the two groups. The attempt to establish the industrial form of organization in the railroad industry failed with the railway strike and the present form now established in the railway industry has remained ever since.

I am relating these historical facts in order that you might appreciate fully, if you can, the difficulties in the way, the differences of opinion that have arisen and that come up in every convention of the American Federation of Labor for discussion and for decision. And I presume that as long as men attempt to organize and as long as men maintain a different point of view this subject will be presented for discussion until I hope we may find some basis of accommodation on which all who believe in the different forms of organization may stand.

Issue Is Self Government

The issue was presented clearly to the San Francisco convention of the American Federation of Labor held in 1934 and later to the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor which was held last October. In that open forum of discussion, of debate and decision, the matter was presented, considered and acted upon by the delegates in attendance at the convention.

I am not here today for the purpose of discussing the merits of the different forms of either industrial organization or the trade or craft form of organization. I believe that experience has taught us that it is possible for us to apply both plans in the most broad, comprehensive and fair way in the organization of workers within the American Federation of Labor.

I believe that we possess sufficient intelligence, that we are resourceful enough and I hope patient enough to find a way by which we can meet the needs of mass production organization as well as the needs of trade union organization and trade organization within the American Federation of Labor itself.

There is a question involved in this whole controversy that is deeper and broader and higher than the mere economic philosophy involved. It is the question of self-government itself. It is a question as to whether or not the working men and women of the nation through their chosen representatives possess the intelligence, the courage, and the tolerance to meet as a family, thresh out our differences, settle them as a family, and go out on the economic field and fight for the policies we adopt. That is the question involved in this controversy.

We can do one of two things, men and women of labor, we can unite our forces, we can find a basis of accommodation, we can practice the principles of good sportsmanship, and even though we don't get all we want we can yield in democratic fashion to the will of the majority, or, on the other hand, we can pursue a policy of division and then let us divide and be conquered.

The honored president of this great international union stated this particular point mighty well in an inspiring address he delivered at the convention of the United Mine Workers of America held in Indianapolis in 1927. I quote his statement, because it made a deep impression on me at that time, and it has increasingly impressed me every time I have read it since. Here it is:

> "As we look back through the pages of economic history and as we look back through the pages of political history of the world we find that, after all, the dissolution and the downfall of the most powerful units of society, whether they were economic in their formation, fraternal in their conception, or political in their ramifications, came to a wreck upon that one rock—their inability to regulate their own actions and to govern themselves.

You must answer that question and I must answer it. Shall we wreck upon a rock of division or shall we demonstrate to the world that we possess the power of self-government? And self-government means the subordination of the opinion of myself or yourself to the will of the majority. That is self-government.

Before Many Conventions

Referring again to the consideration of this subject in conventions of the American Federation of Labor, may I call your attention to this part of the record. The first resolution submitted to an annual convention of the American Federation of Labor recommending a change of organization policies to industrial unionism was the introduction of Resolution No. 77 at the convention of the American Federation of Labor in Boston in 1903. It was introduced by Delegate James Sheehan of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor. I find in that convention that the committee reported unfavorably and the convention concurred in the committee's report. Then we had resolutions considered in every convention providing for the change to industrial form of organization from 1901 until 1935.

Declaration of San Francisco

Now I come to the consideration of the action of the American Federation of Labor at San Francisco in 1934, and at Atlantic City, at the convention which was held in October of 1935. At San Francisco, as you may well know, and as it has been reported to you, an agreement was reached upon a plan of organization. It was an agreement which represented a compromise upon the part of the representatives of those who contended for the different forms and plans of organization.

After the San Francisco convention adjourned the Executive Council endeavored to carry out the instructions of the San Francisco convention.

Differences of opinion arose among the members of the Executive Council as to the interpretation which should be placed upon the action of the San Francisco convention, but it was clearly understood in the debate that took place at San Francisco that conflicting opinions regarding the interpretation of the action of the San Francisco convention would be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for final decision. That was done, and after much debate and discussion the Executive Council decided to carry out the instructions of the San Francisco convention, to issue a charter of affiliation to the United Automobile Workers and to Rubber Workers who had been organized in federal labor unions.

Auto Workers Given Broad Charter

I realize quite well that there is a sharp difference of opinion regarding the interpretation placed upon the action of the San Francisco convention, but I assert here, and I know, without fear of successful contradiction, that pursuant to instructions of the San Francisco convention the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor went further in making a grant of jurisdiction to a new international union, newly chartered by the American Federation of Labor, when it granted a charter to the United Automobile Workers than ever before in the history of the American Federation of Labor. That action on the part of the Executive Council must be interpreted as being influenced absolutely by the decision of the San Francisco convention.

Let me read to you the grant of jurisdiction made by the Executive Council to the Automobile Workers' International Union. Here it is:

> "The president and Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed by the Executive Council as follows:
>
> "1. That a charter for a national or international union of automobile workers be issued at once to embrace all employees directly engaged in the manufacture of parts (not including tools, dies and machinery) and assembling of those parts into completed automobiles, but not including job or contract shops manufacturing parts or any other employee engaged in said automobile production plants.
>
> "2. That for a temporary period determined by the Eecutive Council, the officers to function under the charter thus issued be designated by the president of the American Federation of Labor."

These instructions of the Executive Council have been carried out.

Now, that grant of jurisdiction means that 98 per cent of those employed in the automobile production industry of the Nation come under the jurisdiction of this charter issued by instructions of the San Francisco convention.

Heretofore when charters were issued it was clearly stipulated that only those men could come under the jurisdiction of that charter who did not come under the jurisdiction of a national or international union already chartered, but on the assembly line and in the production plants of the automobile workers of the Nation there are employed electricians, sheet metal workers, painters, skilled mechanics of all kinds, all of them engaged in the production and assembling of the automobile, and under this grant of jurisdiction all of these workers come under the jurisdiction of this new United Automobile Workers' charter granted by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

It is therefore the position of the Executive Council—I am stating this position fearlessly—that it has interpreted the decision of the San Francisco convention and that it has carried out the decision of the San Francisco convention in granting charters to the Rubber Workers and to the Automobile Workers of the Nation.

Atlantic City Decision

The matter again came up at the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor, and as the result of the introduction of many resolutions and the report of the Executive Council two reports were submitted to the Atlantic City convention, one, a majority report from the Committee on Resolutions and the other a minority report.

I have attended many conventions where decisions were made, but I have never attended a convention of the representatives of labor where a decision was arrived at more delib-

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Labor Relations Board Seeks Prompt Test of Power Before Supreme Court

Senators Are Informed That 19 Injunctions Issued by Federal Judges Hamper Enforcement of Wagner-Connery Act.

By A. F. of L. News Service.

Washington, D. C.—Nineteen injunctions issued by Federal judges against the enforcement of the Wagner-Connery Labor Disputes Act make it imperatively necessary for a prompt test of the statute before the United States Supreme Court, according to a statement by J. Warren Madden, chairman of the National Labor Relations Board, in testimony before the Senate Appropriations Committee on the deficiency bill carrying funds to defray the expenses of the board.

Mr. Madden regretted the hostile attitude of the courts which have handled cases under the act. The board, he said, was in the position of having "district judges, who are directed by the statute not to disturb our cases, reach out with anxiety to get them."

He referred to the section of the act which confers on employers the right to challenge the decisions of the board before the Circuit Courts of Appeal, with the implication that district judges shall not interfere with any of the activities of the board until they reach the Circuit Court.

Mr. Madden claimed some district judges, including Judge Otis in Western Missouri, had enjoined the board from even holding hearings on complaints charging employers with violations of the act.

"The Circuit Courts of Appeals," he added, "who are directed by the statutes to handle our cases expeditiously have great hesitation in doing anything with them."

Mr. Madden said he expected the case involving the Pennsylvania Greyhound Lines, which is set for argument before the Circuit Court of Appeals in Philadelphia on March 2, would reach the Supreme Court in the near future.

He asked the Appropriations Committee to increase the item for the board's expenses for the remainder of the current fiscal year from $275,000 to $400,000.

He pointed out that the corporations which are contesting the Wagner Act in the courts employ the best lawyers obtainable and that the board must be able to meet them with equally efficient counsel.

The Wagner Act, which has brought this deluge of injunctions from Federal judges, guarantees the workers the right to organize in trade unions and prohibits certain "unfair labor practices" which employers most frequently use to nullify this right.

The act bans employers from interfering with or coercing employes in the exercise of their rights of self-organization and collective bargaining, from dominating or forming or financially supporting a labor organization, from discriminating in terms of employment against union members, from discharging or otherwise discriminating against employes for filing charges or giving testimony under the Wagner Act, and from refusing to bargain collectively with the representatives of their employes.

CANADA SEEKS AUTHORITY TO AMEND CONSTITUTION

By A. F. of L. News Service.

A Dominion-Provincial committee is holding sessions in Ottawa, Canada, to devise a plan of procedure in obtaining for the Canadian Parliament the right to amend her Constitution, which is not contained in the British North America Act under which the Government of the Dominion is established.

The social welfare legislation enacted by the last Parliament has been challenged on the ground that the power to pass such measures is not delegated to Parliament by the act. The laws whose constitutionality have been questioned provided for national unemployment insurance, a weekly day of rest, the eight-hour day and minimum wages applicable throughout the Dominion.

The chairman of the committee is Ernest Lapointe, Minister of Justice. He expressed the conviction that the text of a draft statute conferring on the people the power to amend the constitution will be agreed to shortly. The statute would then be sent to the British Parliament, with a joint resolution from the Canadian Senate and Commons asking that it be enacted.

News Service Supplement

A number of articles omitted from this issue of the American Federation of Labor Weekly News Service because of space limitations will appear in the Mimeographed Supplement carrying the same date.

Windsor Police Barred From Union Membership

Windsor, Can. (AFLNS).—In accordance with an order issued by the police commission the Windsor Police Association ended its affiliation with the Essex County Trades and Labor Council here. Eight policemen had been dismissed because they refused, when questioned by the commission, to declare themselves in favor of withdrawing from the Trades and Labor Council. A clause in the police regulations stipulates that the police may not affiliate with an outside organization.

Seamen Adopt Plan for Improving Efficiency In the Merchant Marine

Vocational Education Board Requested to Cooperate in Development of the Project.

By A. F. of L. News Service.

Washington, D. C.—The convention of the International Seamen's Union, in session here, after a thorough discussion, decided to inaugurate a national program for the development of improved efficiency and skill in the American Merchant Marine.

The plan, which was proposed by Secretary-Treasurer Victor A. Olander, was unanimously approved by the convention. Secretary Olander has been advocating the plan for several years. He was jubilant over the manner in which it was received by the delegates.

"They were enthusiastic about it," he said, "and they not only voted for the plan but they also showed a clear and intelligent understanding of methods by which it can be put into operation quickly and effectively in a manner that will be sure to please the seamen generally and will be of great value to them as well as to the entire Merchant Marine. All factions joined in its endorsement."

The Executive Board of the union was instructed immediately to lay the subject before the Federal Board for Vocational Education. The report of the committee favoring the plan which the convention adopted said, in part:

"The desire for freedom and—freedom having been attained—the purpose to make the highest and best use of our liberties is the keynote.

An Honorable Calling

"The seaman's calling is an honorable one and is entitled to be again rec-

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